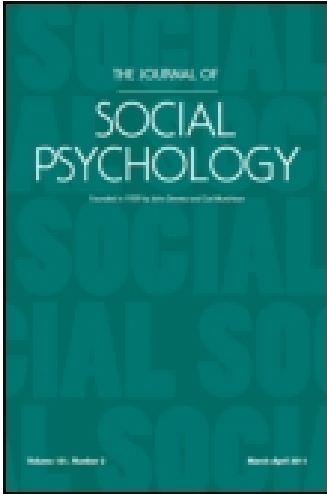


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The Journal of Social Psychology

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/vsoc20>

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Published online: 01 Jul 2010.

To cite this article: Paul Kecskemeti & Nathan Leites (1948) Some Psychological Hypotheses on Nazi Germany: III, The Journal of Social Psychology, 27:2, 241-270, DOI: [10.1080/00224545.1948.9918929](https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1948.9918929)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1948.9918929>

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SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES ON NAZI GERMANY: III*

New York City

PAUL KECSKEMETI AND NATHAN LEITES

A. DANGER AND PROTECTION

1. *The Sense of Danger*

Man lives to a great extent "in" the future; his reactions to the present are largely determined by what it is held to presage, consciously or unconsciously, for the future in terms of indulgences and deprivations. The individual's habitual attitude towards the future often shows a rather homogeneous structure. Thus certain people are habitually "optimistic" (that is, the dominant character of their image of the future is benevolent); others are habitually "pessimistic" (they view the future mainly as threatening).

According to psychoanalytic theory compulsive characters tend to show pessimistic attitudes towards the future. Compulsive characters "worry" (18); they frequently exhibit an "apprehensive attitude towards life" (1). Various factors are presumed to concur in producing this trait. One may enumerate some of them as follows:

(a) Intense dread of one's own impulses, lest "the ego's whole organization may be destroyed by them" (9). Persons with intense anal fixations and regressions "dread annihilation by excess of feeling" (33); for "the striking thing about the emotions, whether of love, hate, or fear, aroused in connection with the infantile excretory acts and products is their overwhelmingness" (33). One of the characteristic phenomena in this connection is the intense fear caused by the awareness that a process of action, once initiated, may be uncontrollable; the experience of "being taken up on . . . a tide of feeling which can no longer be regulated or controlled" generates "a terrible sense of danger" (33). One part of the genesis of such experiences may be found in early practices of anal retention, followed by stormy expulsion.

(b) Intense anal-retentive tendencies. Persons showing such tendencies "get particularly agitated at the idea of something being taken from

*This paper is being published in series. Received originally in the Editorial Office on July 26, 1946. The references will appear at the end of the final paper.

them against their will . . . especially if this is something which symbolizes feces in the unconscious" (18). One may add that such a person is particularly likely to "fear that something belonging to him might get lost or stolen" (1). For people of this type, a vast array of objects is unconsciously connected with evacuation processes.

(c) Intense anal-expulsive tendencies. They tend to induce anxieties that environmental and, subsequently, super-ego demands for "control" may be violated. Such anxieties may extend to the full expression of all impulses. W. Reich (29) describes this diffusion of the infantile conflict between "entleerungsdrang und Beherrschenmüssen" in characteristic German terms: "Jede . . . affektvolle Aeusserung provoziert im Unbewussten die . . . alten Erregungen, so dass ständig die Angst wirkt, dass ein Malheur passieren, etwas durchgehen, dass die Selbstberrschung nicht wiederhergestellt werden könnte."

(d) Intense destructive tendencies, which are characteristic of compulsive characters. (Cf. Chapter 5.) Such tendencies will, in their turn, lead to an intense sense of danger, resulting from fears of retaliation or from projections. The result is "an ever-present lurking expectant anxiety, an expectation of disaster." As for the projection of one's destructive tendencies, "a person whose unconscious is filled with aggression towards the . . . world, has . . . reason to fear this world" (8). Punishment by the super-ego may also be feared.

The submission solution of the patriarchal oedipus situation with its strong undercurrent of aggression against paternal objects is also likely to lead to a strong sense of danger. This may come about in various ways similar to the ones just sketched. In addition aggression attributed to the father may be displaced to other objects connected with him.

(e) The tendency to "reproject" the "severe" super-ego of the compulsive character on to the world, e.g., on the *political* authorities or "fate."

We may expect from these findings concerning the consequences of certain preoedipal and oedipal situations what a culture in which these situations play a large rôle will also be characterized by high apprehensiveness. Naturally, it would be wrong to overlook that modern civilization as a whole is deeply imbued with apprehensiveness and hence a craving for "security." But there are certain manifestations of the sense of danger which are presumably related to the character structure assumed; and these seem to be frequent in German culture. It must, on the other hand, be recalled at the outset that there are strong tendencies militating against the full awareness of the anxieties involved. Conscious denials of the type

of "we Germans fear God and nothing else in the world" have been frequent as well as revealing.

One plausible hypothesis is that the over-all content of communications in German culture showed a relatively high incidence of references to danger and catastrophe. The point is, in this connection, that the references in question were highly explicit, frequent and emphatic, employing for instance words like "Drohung," "Unheil," "Verhängnis," "Untergang," "Tragik," etc. These words have, as it were, a crushing weight; they admit of no answer; "wenn man den Dingen ihren Lauf lässt," "Verhängnis" must always have the last word. Such words are associated to tension which cannot be relaxed. In view of the rôle of the *Nibelungenlied* in Nazi symbolism, it may be significant that its atmosphere is one of "ever present threat of impending disaster" (6). "Anxiety" and "concern" ("Angst" und "Sorge") have become explicit as themes of contemporary German metaphysics. In this context, they are "ultimate" categories; they are not resolved in some higher "syntheses." According to E. Diesel (6) "nowhere in the world (sic) does one see so many lined and harassed faces (as in Germany)."

Such direct expressions of the sense of doom are accompanied in German culture by largely reaction-formative beliefs in "salvation." "German art and philosophy so often end by becoming a system of salvation" (6). The widespread *deus-ex-machina* beliefs in a "schlagartige Veränderung" by a political or technological "miracle" in the later phases of World War II illustrate this.

Related to this is a vague phantasy of future plenty—of high and stable indulgence levels—opposing the sense of scarcity (not) which accompanies the sense of danger: "reich," "unerschöpflich," "aus dem Vollen schöpfend," "in Hülle und Fülle" are words alluding to this. Presumably expansionist German policies have appealed to this strain: violence would "break through" the barriers erected by a malevolent environment.

Another typically compulsive manifestation of the sense of danger is a certain attitude towards the world which experiences a vast range of stimuli as "disturbing." This attitude is frequent among Germans who are often extremely sensitive to "Störung," and, conversely, have an intense yearning for "Unge st örtheit." "Leave me alone" ("lasst mich in Ruhe") is a very frequently expressed wish (Cf. Chapter 18). Sensitivity to noises (a trait frequently found in compulsive characters) seems to be frequent.

Aspects of the world are relatively frequently perceived as "unheimlich"; this is presumably related to the projection of internal "dangers."

Fears of infection and poisoning, another characteristic compulsive manifestation, are also frequently found in German culture. Metaphors of poisoning and infection were often used particularly by the Nazis in connection with things presented as undesirable and metaphors of disinfection in connection with their abolition. Expressions of this kind are "Pest," "Seuche," "Giftküche," "Brunnenvergiftung," "Entgiftung," "Fieberherd," "Krankheitsherd." Hitler once referred to the Allied bridgehead at Anzio as an "Eiterbeule." Das Schwarze Korps wrote on February 10, 1944, that "National Socialism has sharpened our awareness of centers of infection ("Krankheits—und Fieberherde"). In general, mild hypochondriacal tendencies—characteristic of many compulsive characters—seem to be widespread.

There is a tendency to be anxiously concerned whether the "necessities" of life will be available. The level of "hunger anxiety" is often high. (This is of course defined by the magnitude of the anxiety reaction to a given "objective" situation.) Hence the accent is often on food quantity. The Second War showed the high morale-stabilizing effects of a disapproval of hunger fears.

Frequently, though often with little awareness, there seems to be a fear of an *endless* chain of deprivations about to impinge on the self; in a way typical of compulsive characters the occurrence of a given deprivation tends to induce the forecast of its indefinite continuation or repetition. As a reassurance, there may be an emphasis on "es geht alles vorüber, es geht alles vorbei."

As shown elsewhere in this study, one characteristic (largely unconscious) anxiety in German culture presumably concerns restraints on free bodily movements. In relation to this, there is an important conscious fear of being hemmed in by a destructive environment (cf. "Einkreisung").

As to the well known rôle of the projection in German culture of one's aggressiveness to objects in the outside world, it was often accompanied by extreme denial of one's own aggressive tendencies. The cliché of the "braver deutscher Michel" was frequently used to express and propagate the impression of one's utter harmlessness and guilelessness. Writers who used this cliché often scolded the Germans for their "Vertrauensseligkeit" and "Arglosigkeit." Such judgments are, in one aspect, sincere or insincere denials of the compulsive character's tendency towards distrust. Often they are a means of justifying ever greater excesses of distrust. They also serve to produce an exaggerated impression of the aggressiveness of the outside world; thus, they are excellent aids to projection. At the same time they foster the lack of empathy into these aggressions of the environment against

the self which can never be recognized as counter-aggressions. German Second World War soldiers very frequently found it "incomprehensible" why Britain and the U. S. made war on Germany instead of agreeing to a negotiated peace.

The projection of aggressive tendencies, contributing to "his (the German's) want of confidence in his fellowmen" (6), often assumes the form of great apprehensiveness that one may not receive one's "due share" of scarce means of satisfaction in competitive situations. This trait, which is characteristic of compulsive characters (1), was one of the bases of a major type of political thinking. Outsiders were frequently viewed as intent on damaging, and, in characteristic exaggeration, "destroying" the self. Destructive tendencies, projected upon the outsider, were then frequently used as justification of aggression against him: against one who violates my "rights" to *any* extent *any* degree of violence is justified.

On the other hand, conscious or unconscious retaliation fears were prominent in the forecasts of annihilation-by-defeat which so many Germans entertained during the Second War; the accompanying guilt accounts in part for the relative lack of indignation about such prospects.

As to "internal" dangers, awareness of them seems to be freely and frequently expressed in German culture. "The Germans . . . are afraid of themselves and of others" (6). The fear of "formlessness," "chaos," "dissolution," "confusion," "disorder" as a result of uncontrolled impulse completion is often acutely felt; the feeling seems to be frequent that many impulse tendencies proceed to sudden and total completion, uncontrollably, like an avalanche once they are started: "es gibt dann einfash kein Halten mehr." Also, there is the fear of impulses "growing on" one once their uncontrolled completion has been permitted: "man wird ein Sklave des Triebes."

In addition, there is the frequent fear of sinking to a "subhuman" level as a result of completion of impulse; presumably in part in unconscious realization of the regressive processes characteristic of the compulsive personality. One may recall fears of "Versumpfung," "Versandung," "Ver-rohung," "sittliche Verwilderung." (One way of dealing with these anxieties is to project such potential aspects of the self into an allegedly "sub-human" enemy.) "Sub-human primitiveness" (and the impulses in general) often evoke fear mingled with attraction: a certain "fascination" which is illustrated by the mixed feeling tone of the prefix "Ur" which manifestly refers to phylogensis, but unconsciously possibly also to ontogenesis.

2. *Protection*

Agencies promising or ensuring protection, and the state of being protected, obviously play a considerable rôle in a consciousness which is strongly aware of danger. People who are interested in protection seek to avoid deprivation rather than to increase indulgence. This is largely true of the compulsive character. One major "underlying motive" of obsessional ceremonials is "to take precautions in order to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of some . . . event."

It has been shown that the compulsive character, consciously or unconsciously, regards as dangerous the spontaneous running to completion of many impulses. Hence, protecting himself, he lacks spontaneity and shows a rigidly disciplined subjectivity and overt behavior (in W. Reich's (29) characteristic phrase: "eine starke Gehaltenheit und Beherrschtheit"). Compulsive characters cannot "let themselves go" (8). It may be added that many alleged external dangers feared by compulsive characters are but projected internal dangers.

As to the mechanisms used for protection, the compulsive character largely employs defense "by counteracthesis"—e.g., repression, reaction-formation, isolation—in which persisting impulses are barred from access to consciousness. The use of such defense mechanisms is stimulated by the compulsive character's "strong desire for power" which "may be obtained through self-control" (8). Such characters show an intense "desire for self-control" and "experiment with themselves with the aim of increasing it" (18).

The compulsive tendency to seek a maximum of "security" coexists however with a tendency to *avoid* any "security." This is related to a variety of factors, e.g., to self destructive tendencies of various origins. One characteristic result of the confluence of pro- and anti-security tendencies is the motivation described by the German phrase "Lieber ein Ende mit Schrecken als ein Schrecken ohne Ende"—a motivation which Freud found in his classical study of a compulsion neurosis.

Just as in connection with symbols denoting "danger," the hypothesis may be put forward that an exact survey of the over-all content of German communications would reveal a high frequency of terms referring to "protection," such as "Schutz," "Wehr," "Wahrung," "Sicherung," "Aufrechterhaltung," "Krisenfestmachung," "Ueberwachung," "Rückendeckung," "unschädlich machen" and the like. Such terms often have a negative "anti-" and "elimination" character, e.g., words formed with the prefixes "ent-," "ab-," "un-," "nicht-," or with the suffix "widrig," "frei," "-los," etc. (De-

structive tendencies discussed above presumably also contribute to the performance of these formations.)

Furthermore, major trends in German popular psychology greatly stressed, in describing subjectivity at large, the struggle against impulses, particularly by counter-cathexis. The life of the psyche was very frequently viewed in terms of "Haltung" vs. "Stimmung," "eiserne Zucht" vs. "dunkler Drang," "Pflicht" vs. "Neigung," "der bessere Mensch" vs. "der innere Schweinehund," "sich zusammen nehmen," vs. "sich gehen lassen," "sich überwinden" vs. "sich nachgeben." Impulse completions were apt to be described, negatively, as defenses overcome: "sich ausleben," "sich austoben," "Entfesselung," "hemmunglos."

Protection acts in German culture frequently showed a certain extremism. The following manifestations of this may be mentioned (without any attempt at completeness).

(a) What is sought is often *total* security. The protective act is thought of as *guaranteeing* the prevention of the danger involved. If it is a matter of "safeguarding" allegedly threatened future indulgences (e.g., food supplies), a larger quantity may "greedily" be striven for than would be desired with less anxiety about the future. That is, larger and more extreme means than necessary are employed. (This is related to the characteristic compulsive "all or nothing" belief that only "radical measures" are at all effective.)

There is an intense striving to possess complete and specific forecasts about relevant aspects of the future. Such forecasts may be (often unconsciously) desired to counteract intimations of catastrophe or of an indefinite continuation of deprivations. They may also appear as facilitating the handling of dangers foreseen. ("Vorsicht," meaning caution, is literally "provision.") Situations with fairly unpredictable horizons tend to be reacted to with much distress: "da kann man ja seines (any "possession" or aspect of the self) nicht sicher sein," "wir wollen wissen woran wir sind." There is an intense demand for a shape of things with high predictability—e.g., a demand for "Zuverlässigkeit" as a character trait and for legal "Berechenbarkeit."

(b) The protection sought is often the protection against the sense of *total* danger (threat of utter destruction) discussed above. Hence the fulfillment of all kinds of demands is often regarded as a "Lebensfrage," i.e., as "absolut unerlässlich" for the "Existenz" of the self.

(c) Protection may be attempted for a *vast* future time span, as there is a profound conviction that the morrow will *not* take care of itself. Reaction-formatively, there is a desire for the unattainable capacity of living in the moment. This may be viewed as a special case under (a).

(d) There are linguistic forms which reflect a compulsive tendency of checking and *double checking*. Thus, a thing is often not "ausgeschlossen" but "völlig ausgeschlossen," not "notwendig" but "absolut notwendig," not "verboden" but "strengstens verboten," etc. Related to this is the tendency to make explicit what is "forbidden" rather than what is "permitted"—to say "bicycling is forbidden" rather than "for pedestrians only" (cf. E. Diesel, 6).

(e) Intense concern with certain dangers compels one to try to *block all the loopholes* through which the danger could enter: certain things must be prevented "unter allen Umständen," "ein für allemal." The underlying belief is often that there is but one alternative, between *total* exclusion or *total* realization of the danger; hence "principiis obsta." When the slightest incident of a prohibited nature occurs, the question frequently arises at once: "Where will all this lead us?" The answer tends to be: "das muss im Keine erstickt werden," "man darf dem nicht Tür und Tor öffnen," "Vorsicht ist besser als Nachsicht." (This characteristically puns on a double meaning: lack of foresight and leniency.) Thus a German newspaper in April, 1944, argued that "all critical evaluation" of Nazi strategy on the eastern front must be "absolutely suppressed," because "any such evaluation implies doubts; any doubts which people express at times may spread like an influenza epidemic; thus doubt in the superiority of the leaders and of the front appears." Das Schwarze Korps argued on February 24, 1944, that "even the slightest deviation from the specifications laid down for emergency homes cannot be allowed . . . because exceptions once granted, would transcend all limits." Such "all or nothing" beliefs are related to the fear mentioned above of losing control of an impulse spontaneously running to completion. [This, again, may be viewed as a special case under (a).]

(f) Protection against this fear may alternatively be sought in sharply *diminishing the spontaneity* ("Selbstvergessenheit") of impulse gratification, while permitting it to some extent in a "*controlled*" fashion. One major manifestation of this is the tendency towards affectlessness, which corresponds to a characteristic compulsive trait. There was frequently a very self-conscious high valuation of "coolness" as against "warm" subjective states: e.g., postulates "sich nicht aufzuregen" in favor of the "überlegene Ruhe" of the envied "Englischer Gentlemen" image.

Furthermore, impulse completions may occur "according to plan" and in time and space contexts which have been "isolated" by various devices. That is, one's pleasure may be taken in predetermined and distinct doses.

(g) Acts of protection against forbidden impulses are—as is typical of

defenses by counter-cathexis—frequently *invaded* by the impulses to be warded off. The widely used phrase “den Teufel durch Beelzebub austreiben” refers to this situation.

Another compulsive trait mentioned above, the combination of utter caution with utter recklessness, was a presumably frequent German behavior pattern. Widely speculative enterprises were often carried out with pedantic caution as to details. In the culture as a whole, the timid bourgeois (Spieser) was prominently encountered alongside with the “nihilistic” adventurer. People who in private life would shrink even from taking minor risks were apt to be utterly reckless in their political behavior (for instance, they repudiated any compromise with a rival political group as the alleged beginning of complete surrender; hence, they maneuvered themselves into situations in which only extreme solutions were possible). Nazism itself was the paroxysm of security-seeking recklessness. Its frenzied preoccupation with the idea of eliminating every possible “threat” contributed to make it disregard the risks of such undertakings.

B. DEPRESSION AND ELATION

Compulsive characters tend to be “depressive,” (29), “rarely happy,” (18), “take everything seriously,” (18), display a “melancholy seriousness which passes over into . . . pessimism,” (1), show a “morose expression” (1). A number of factors contribute to these attitudes. One may mention the compulsive personality’s high sense of danger and guilt and the high rôle of defenses by counter-cathexis; the compulsive person’s ego “must not relax, but is constantly prepared for a struggle.” Hence pleasurable moods tend to be difficult to establish and preserve. Persons of this type show “an inability to enjoy any pleasurable situation unless all . . . circumstances are quite perfect . . . a satisfactory mood is readily impaired by slight influences . . . they are . . . easily ‘put out’” (18). (This is another instance of the pervasive “all or nothing” tendency.)

German culture seemed to be pervaded by a certain mild depressiveness. There was a high incidence of people worrying about disappointments and dangers in matters of “interest” or of “principle.” This no doubt is partly due to conditions in a modern industrial civilization which are nowhere favorable to “quiet happiness,” but in Germany there seemed to be less capacity for the quiet enjoyment of life than in a number of other contemporary cultures. (This low capacity for enjoyment may be one of the factors making for the “insatiability” of demands which several observers have ascribed to German culture.)

On a "high" intellectual level, "pessimism" had a far higher status than "optimism." To be "optimistic" was often taken as a sign of shallowness; those who overlooked the "tragic" aspects of life were despised. (The high propensity to discover "tragic" conflicts was presumably in part related to the high rôle of ambivalence in many German character structures.) Optimistic outlooks were widely regarded as "platitudinous" ("flach"). "Becoming platitudinous" ("Verflachung") was held to be a major danger to cultural life.

Reaction-formatively, one frequently encountered a highly conscious and non-spontaneous glorification of "joy," "eagerness for life" ("Lebensfreude"), "acceptance of life" ("Lebensbejahung"), "Heiterkeit". One may recall the popularity of the final chorus of the Ninth Symphony, the reverse of "zu Tode betrübt."

On the level of everyday language, terms such as "Ernst" had a high axiological status. One was generally expected to take things "seriously" in a portentous fashion. This was a factor making for conflict; no one was recognized as taking a thing "seriously," unless he was ready to fight whenever it was challenged. This was meant by the expression "Keinen Spass verstehen." The intensification of conflicts contributed in its turn to a "pessimistic" conception of life.

On the other hand German culture showed a high awareness of specific situations of a mildly euphoric (and "sentimental") nature from which gravity was banished. Some of these situations were characterized by the word "Gemütlichkeit." They were elaborately prepared and protected: the "gemütlich" home was barricaded against outside disturbances, and in going to a "gemütlich" social gathering one was expected to "leave one's worries at home." Thus, Gemütlichkeit was achieved by a diminution of social anxiety—either because one feels safe at home, or because one is in a circle of persons supposed to be friendly. Gemütlichkeit is also promoted by the diminution of super-ego anxiety and of interference with impulses as a result of light inebriation.

Yet, Gemütlichkeit is an unstable condition. One misplaced word, one infraction against the rules of "status," and it's gone; the situation becomes "ungemütlich." ("Die Stimmung ist verdorben"). If Gemütlichkeit is to be preserved, conversation must be carefully steered away from "burning" subjects.

(The word "ungemütlich" was sometimes used in boasting of one's own aggressiveness, indicating that the targets of one's "seriousness" are challenged: "da werd'ich aber ungemütlich.")

C. ORDER AND DISORDER

"Orderliness" and "cleanliness" are among the key traits of the compulsive character according to the study, first published in 1908, by which Freud initiated the theory of this character type. They are in such contexts reaction-formations against repressed impulses toward disorderliness and dirtiness arising in connection with infantile reactions to processes of evacuation. These impulses tend to "return from repression" in a variety of expressions, mostly distorted. Thus compulsive characters tend to show a polarization between "orderliness" and "disorderliness."

Compulsive orderliness strivings usually exhibit a certain "perfectionism." A wide range of acts is felt as either pure and purifying, or impure and polluting; and even the tiniest spot of disorder or dirt, whether in the person or in the world, is, consciously or unconsciously, held to pollute its wildest environment. "The avoidance of . . . contamination plays . . . a large part in this (compulsion) neurosis," in part as a reaction against the "impulse to stain . . . contaminate . . . defile . . . spoil" (18). There are frequent extreme reactions to supposed violations of order or cleanliness postulates: the obnoxious factor has to be eliminated. This elimination may proceed by repression or some other mechanism of defense if the factor of disorder is within the subject. If it is outside, the subject may become extremely aggressive and domineering. "In the exaggerated orderliness (of the compulsive character) . . . aggression very often achieves satisfaction" (29); compulsive persons "wish to introduce their own system into everything" (1). "Compulsive orderliness is . . . (among other things) an expression of the patients' desire for domination . . . we detect in our patients' compulsive love of order and cleanliness the coöperation of sublimated sadistic instincts" (1). Thus "the maximal intensification of compulsive . . . conscientiousness . . . leads . . . to the break through of the forbidden (sadistic) impulses," against which compulsive orderliness itself is a reaction-formation.

The following further characteristics of compulsive orderliness may be noted:

(a) The subject tends to have a highly complete and specific *system of norms* by which behavior is regulated. Where no norms are furnished by authorities, there is a tendency to create them oneself. Thus "the compulsive-neurotic patient . . . cannot speak without systems" (8); in many situations in which other character types show an "open mind," compulsive personalities manifest a certain "insistence on the . . . necessity of doing cer-

tain things in exactly the 'right' way" (18). Accordingly, there is a tendency towards the "bureaucratization" of intimate interpersonal relationships. Concerning intellectual processes, W. Reich (29) employs the following characteristic expressions: ". . . das Denken bewegt sich in vorgeschriebenen Bahnen, nach bestimmten . . . Schemen . . . in undurchbrechbarem Kreise. . . ." (This tends of course to result in low creativity.) There is constant anxiety (more or less consciously) as to whether the person has acted or will act sufficiently "correctly"; and constant self-reassurances on this score.

(b) There is a tendency towards *repetition* of the same operation after constant time-intervals; compulsive characters "always desire routine" (8). This follows from the prevalence of certain norms which foist themselves upon a variety of situations. Characteristic doubts as to whether past performances have been completely correct (as interfered-with impulses continuously tend to break through) also make for repetitiveness. This personality type demands repetitiveness from others too.

(c) "*All or nothing*" attitudes: The slightest deviation from norm is felt as nullifying the entire performance on it. Attention accordingly tends to be shifted to peripheral instead of central matters: the compulsive "displacement to trifles." Freud spoke of the "conscientiousness of compulsive characters in the discharge of small duties" and of their "kleinlich" nature, E. Jones (18) of their "pedantry." The performance of a large number of "trivial" acts may acquire a "ritual" portentous character. In a less extreme fashion, there is an "incapacity to concentrate attention on one matter and to save energy in another direction according to the . . . importance of the affairs involved; attention tends to be equally distributed" (29). "(Such) people . . . can be trusted not to neglect any duty" (18), theirs is an "undirected conscientiousness" as E. Diesel (6) says with application to Germany.

(d) There tends to be high "*literalism*" in the treatment of norms. K. Abraham (1) stressed the "pedantic observance of fixed forms" and the fact that "in unfavorable cases . . . preoccupation with the external form outweighs . . . interest in the reality of the thing." [This is a part of the regression of the super-ego to a corruptible archaism (8).] Such behavior is sometimes a mode of (mostly unconscious) aggression against authority.

To this literalism in the treatment of norms is closely related a concentration of interest on the orderliness of the "facade" of things (outward order) rather than of what is "behind" it. Many compulsive characters, who are greatly concerned with the "orderly" spatial arrangement of their possessions, are quite satisfied with stuffing things into disorderly cup-

boards. "Everything must be put into proper places . . . if possible put away out of sight" (18).

(e) The completeness of action. One type of compulsive character shows a "passion for thoroughness" and "dogged persistence with which tasks are carried through" (18); he seeks to complete every task with a great outlay of psychic energy (concentrating on one task at a time) and reacts very unfavorably to being diverted or interrupted. This may be a reaction against anal tendencies to avoid the completion of a situation (29) and to disperse one's efforts ("sich verzetteln" in the characteristic German phrase). Such people show obstinacy and are "notorious bores" (18).

The tendency towards completeness (overelaboration) may manifest itself in various ways. Thus, one encounters it as a kind of "radicalism," a propensity to carry through a certain line of action or thought to its most remote consequences and to ascend (or pretend to ascend) to its implied principles. Usually, such behavior is regarded as highly expedient; actually its consequences are often damaging to the self. There is also a tendency towards "totality" (additionally related to protection and omnipotence tendencies). In the sphere of symbols, there is the attempt to anticipate "every thinkable possibility" ("alle Denkmöglichkeiten," in the characteristic German phrase) as well as the passion for "complete enumeration" which K. Abraham (1) noted as a compulsive trait. The "fondness for classifying" (also related to the mechanism of isolation) observed by E. Jones (18) is another manifestation of the same trait. Persons of this kind are apt to think of classifications in terms of true-false rather than convenient-inconvenient, and to display doubts as well as defensive dogmatism about them.

"Orderliness" has, of course, often been noted as a dominant trait in German culture. "Ordnung" was a high value term, and "Ordnung muss sein" an imperative which generally carried conviction and overrode many other postulates. If something is "in Ordnung," or a problem "bereinigt," it is all right; revolutionary intentions were often expressed by a determination "gründlich Ordnung zu machen" or "aufzuräumen." Order and cleanliness expressions thus stood prominently for desired states of affairs; conversely, disorder—dirt expressions stood for undesired situations: "Unordnung," "Chaos," "Verwirrung," "Konfusion," "heilloses Durcheinander," "Schweinerie" were terms which played a high and highly anxiety-charged rôle. Characteristically, "Ordnung" usually carried the connotation of something "artificially" imposed rather than spontaneously emerging.

Germans themselves often declared love of order to be a distinctive trait in which they differed from other nations. In describing the German

soldier's "nostalgia for the homeland," Goebbels wrote (*Das Reich*, April 30, 1944): "Sie vermissen ausserhalb unseres Reiches die gewohnte öffentliche Ruhe und Ordnung, die Präzision des Verkehrslebens, die Sauberkeit des Strassenbildes, die solide und zuverlässige Haltung . . . der Menschen, die Stetigkeit der nationalen Führung. . . ." Speaking about the same time, a Gauleiter (K. Gerland, of Kassel) named "order" and "cleanliness" (besides "loyalty" and "honesty") as the "foundations" of life.

A high cathexis of orderliness-cleanliness may foster a high rôle of propriety judgments as against ethical judgments. (This may be related to the frequently "absolute" parental prohibitions on certain infantile phallic activities and destructive tendencies as distinguished from the necessarily more accommodating regulation of anal processes (17). In the everyday life (as against the more reaction-formative ideologies) of German culture propriety evaluations seem to have played a high rôle as against ethical evaluations. One may recall the rôle of terms like "Anstand" ("anständig" shows the approach to ethics from a propriety basis), "Sitte," "ungebührlich," "das gehört sich (nicht)," "Unfug," "Skandal."

It is well known that desires for a complete and specific norm system were widespread in German culture. E. Diesel (6) quotes an official statement to the effect that "the length of time a piece of carbon paper may be expected to last is dependent on the quality of the individual product so that it is impossible to lay down any definite rule which shall be universally applicable," and adds: "this last clause gives expression to the German's most deeply cherished desire." On the other hand fascination with extreme deviations from norms was indicated, e.g., by typical images of the "Genie" above the law.

The desired orderliness may even go beyond the conformity of reality to a complex system of norms and include its conformity to factual allegations which have psychologically become independent of their empirical basis: "higher . . . officials have been known to complain to the inhabitants of a particular place that there is something not in order . . . because it (the place) does not quite agree with the description in the guide book" (6).

On the other hand the tendencies combated by reaction-formative orderliness found various incomplete expressions. To mention a minor one, the "peculiar significance we (Germans) attach to mountain climbing" may have been related to the fact that "the higher parts of the Alps" are the "only regions into which Germans can still escape from the cramping orderliness of civilization" (6).

Manifest violations of conformity to norms were usually reacted to with

great intensity; the maintenance of "order" was frequently, with probably significant explicitness and emphasis, considered to be the chief function of the state and of the organs of law. The calculable character of law (*Rechtssicherheit*) was often quite consciously considered as more important than the intrinsic "rightness" of a legal system. Extremely "unjust" laws were widely accepted under the Nazi regime since the mode of their promulgation was considered "Ordnungsmässig"; but criticism of the few instances of "disorderly" Nazi "activism" was widespread and spontaneous.

As to the demand for regularity of events through time, Germans were in many situations highly intolerant of irregularities in the time-sequence of acts of others affecting them. This could, for example, be observed in the case of supply difficulties of German Second World War soldiers.

"Orderliness" of action was widely regarded as a major indicator of Power. Hence the incessant emphasis of Nazi propaganda in the defeat phases of World War II on orderliness-in-retreat. (A German home radio report on the Western front said August 29, 1944: "The majority of our formations left the pocket in so orderly fashion that it defied imagination.") Conversely, a high degree of orderliness of enemy action was an intensely demoralizing factor.

As to the "radicalism" of action mentioned above as a compulsive trait, one may cite the widespread admiration for "Mut zur Konsequenz."

As to the striving for totality, there was the significant rôle of prefixes like "All-," "Gesamt-," "Ganz-," "Voll-," "Total-." This was accompanied by much anxiety lest something should have been omitted ("entschlüpft," "versäumt") and by apprehensions about an alleged German tendency to do too many things at once as well as to do them by halves. The phantasy image of the perfect "Organisation" was one that is as "allumfassend" as it is "engmaschig" in its "Einbeziehung" of its objects.

As to the speed and persistence of action one may quote E. Diesel's (6) over-statement: "Once the individual German has taken anything in hand, his main desire is to carry it through to its conclusion with the least possible delay."

The high emphasis on classifying activities in German culture is well known.

Another major aspect of the "order" widely desired in German culture was the absence of overt conflicts—even of those routed through institutional channels such as those of democracy—within the group, and the appearance of high stability of the decisions of authority. This is related to a compulsive trait mentioned above: the desire to have everybody's behavior regu-

lated by a given set of norms contributes to the desires for uniformity and stability just mentioned.

This fondness for a decade of unanimity played, as is well known, a significant part in the success of Nazism. One-party rule as such seemed preferable to many Germans. Even though they may have disagreed with this or that point of the Nazi program, they were quite relieved to know that political life would not be marred by the multiplicity of political parties, involving constant overt disagreements and laborious attempts at reaching compromises, soon to be overthrown by the whims of the party system. Parties working at cross-purposes appeared as an anomaly, incompatible with "order." On the other hand the regimentation of public opinion appeared to many Germans as something desirable on principle. Many opponents of the Nazis violently resented the kind of official dogma which could alone be propagated in public, but they would have been satisfied if another official dogma closer to their own views had been imposed. They would have considered the restoration of the previous freedom of discussion as a definite loss.

Nazi propaganda always stressed totalitarian "order" against democratic "anarchy." In Nazi political language, the Axis powers were often referred to as "powers of order" ("Ordnungsmächte"), and their war aim as "endgültig Ordnung zu schaffen." The use of this argument to the world was partly based upon a projection of the love of outward order so frequent in Germans. "The German will not realize that the whole world does not necessarily want his particular type of order" (6). The Nazis frequently indicated pride in cutting out every discordant note from public life in contrast to other systems where discontent could be openly expressed. Many Nazi policy makers presumably assumed that an outward show of unanimity, based upon the hardest penalties for voicing dissent, would have wide appeal.

The love of order hitherto described was closely related to a certain cult of "cleanliness" (rather than "goodness"), coupled with fears of being soiled and contaminated. (Second World War German soldiers showed much dislike for close combat: it was not "clean." In the latter stages of the war Nazi propaganda engaged in significant glorifications of "close range fighters." Such fears often found expression in metaphors making use of the idea of dirt, smears, smudges (such as "Schweinerei," "unabwischbarer Schandfleck," "schmierig," "alles in den Schmutz ziehen," "reine Hände durch eine solche Tat beschmutzen"). On the other hand positively valued events or objects were "lauter," "unbefleckt," "reinlich," "sauber" (cf.

"wissenschaftliche Sauberkeit" to refer to precision). In connection with Freud's allusion to the significance of dirt as "matter in the wrong place," one may note the rôle of such propriety terms as "angebracht," "am Platze." One of the favorite Nazi charges against oppositional elements was that they "soil" the purity of the fatherland. The Nazi Minister of Justice, Otto Thierack, said about the process of law that it had a double "ordering and cleansing" function ("die Justiz hat eine doppelte Aufgabe: eine ordnende und reinigende Funktion," broadcast of March 25, 1944). The characteristic compulsive idea mentioned above that any "dirt" pollutes *everything* was often expressed. Anti-Nazi political jokes were compared to "little poisonous pills," (which might, however, "wrest the fruits of our efforts from our hands." Alfred Rosenberg warned on January 17, 1944, that after an enemy victory Germans would be exposed to a flood of new literature which would "soil everything German.") ("Beschmutzung alles Deutschen durch die neu erscheinenden Bücher und Zeitschriften"). Gauleiter Martin Mutschmann of Saxony said in April, 1944: "Until the last bacillus of Jewish and liberal ideas is eliminated from economic life, neither real improvement nor stability can be achieved." Discussing the question whether Germans ought to denounce acquaintances making anti-Nazi remarks, the paper *Der Alemanne* (Freiburg) of May 9, 1944, admitted that many people are afraid of "soiling" themselves by committing a "denunciation," but argued that "the dirt produced by others soils us too." According to Gauleiter Gerland, speaking in November, 1943, the "great discovery of National Socialism" was that only "the extermination of the inferior guarantees the high efficiency of the man of good quality."

The Nazi system manifested, of course, intense aggressive domination tendencies, which, as was said above, are often linked with compulsive orderliness. References to the opposition as a factor of "dirt" indicated this, among many other indicators. Aggressive acts were often presented in terms of "säubern," "reinigen" (cf. "judenrein machen"). Characteristically, "bereinigen" means settling a problem as well as mopping up an enemy. Those who mar the harmony of unanimous adulation must be entirely eliminated ("restlos," "durch und durch," "mit Stumpf und Stiel"); anything less would spoil everything. In the sphere of politics (and everything becomes "politics") and there is no such thing as a legitimate opposition; there are even no venial offenses; any opposition is to be reacted to with outright destruction. In the case of the Jews, relentless destruction was decreed even without any visible act of opposition on their part; in their very being they had been declared "essentially hostile" to Germanism. It

is noteworthy that, in the case of the Jews, repeated acts of meticulous classification accompanied the moves which culminated in systematic extermination. The extreme "orderliness" and "cleanliness" of the extermination camps—co-existing with extremes of the opposite kind—has been repeatedly noted.

Thus the Nazi regime exhibited to a high degree most of the features of compulsive orderliness as described above. On the other hand—in consonance with the incompleteness and instability of reaction-formations—Nazism was also characterized by a deep tendency towards disorder (as already noted above). This was shown, for example, in certain aspects of the selection of leading Nazi personnel and in certain educational practices. The Nazi elite itself often lacked the widespread German orderliness traits described above. The members of this elite were typically "difficult to get on with" and tended to assert themselves even against their superiors. A drastic tug-of-war was always going on among leading Nazis; defiance even of highest orders was regarded as a mark of "belonging" to the elite. It is well known that these habits of defiance in some cases had fatal consequences for the leaders involved. But in general there was apparently much appreciation and to a certain extent encouragement of "red-blooded" non-submissiveness on upper levels. Authoritative Nazi commentators occasionally declared that the ideal type of Nazi leader was by no means a yes man. (One of the reasons for the adoption of this principle of selection was certainly the wish to have an elite in which nobody could take advantage of the privileges attending upon complete "correctness"). In the great mass, however, the ideal of meticulous correctness was upheld; this helped maintain the sharp line of demarcation between the elite and the masses. Anti-order tendencies were also noticeable in Nazi education. The heads of the special educational institutions for future members of the elite always maintained that they wanted no "model boys"; they occasionally admitted that this principle of selection created considerable difficulties for them.

D. METHOD AND SPONTANEITY

Compulsive characters are apt to engage in actions with either a minimum or a maximum of preparation, either "blindly" or "methodically."

As to the more frequent latter case, "the compulsion neurotic patient cannot 'let himself go'" (8). In extreme cases, "patients lose all capacity for spontaneous voluntary action" (8).

Methodical action is, first of all, characterized by the fact that it is well and long prepared. Success seems thereby assured. Thinking plays a

prominent rôle in the preparation of the act. In part in connection with the typical "unconscious equation of thoughts with feces" (8), compulsive characters are "slow-minded . . . heavy in thought" (18). They show, in the characteristic German phrase used by W. Reich (18) "Umständlichkeit."

After "thinking" comes "deciding." Compulsive behavior often shows this sequence: a plan, conceived in the preparatory process of thinking—a decision to execute the plan—action conforming to the decision. This stress on a distinct act of decision is presumably in part reaction-formative against tendencies towards indecision; it is also a component of the "omnipotence" complex. W. Reich (29) mentions one case in which "nothing could be done without special decision." (This was related to anal defiance and parental demands for self-control.) In cases of this kind, "the whole life proceeds in small and large things according to a preconceived program" (29). Such persons are "unable to settle down to any task until everything is arranged beforehand to the last detail" (18).

Finally, after the act comes the "audit" as to its conformity to the plan. A characteristic trait of the compulsive character is its striving to carry through its program "to the bitter end in all details," and its constant checking up on the degree of fulfillment of the plan. Interim and final balance sheets proliferate; the person, "Constantly concerned with himself," is "his own severe overseer" ("sein eigener strenger Aufpasser") (29).

All these behavior features were widespread in German culture. The subjective and interpersonal preparation of many acts was elaborate on penalty of anxiety and unskillfulness. This implied a low velocity of reaction to new stimuli: "The German" is not easy to get going one way or the other (6). Phrases containing "-bereitschaft" as a component were frequent in communications. The prevalent type of German deserter in the Second World War up to 1945 did not act on the spur of the moment but rather after a long conscious and frequently ruminative incubation period.

The relationship between "thought" and "action" played a considerable rôle in German speculations; cf. Hölderlin's verses:

"Aber kommt, wie der Strahl aus dem Gewölke kommt
Aus Gedanken vielleicht geistig und reif die Tat?"

While different answers to this question were given, one major personality type in German culture was one for whom all important acts must be "thought through" ("durchdacht") before being performed. "An alles schon vorher gedacht haben" was highly valued. An American observer who was in charge of the occupation of a Western German city in 1918-1919 writes:

"I soon learned that it was well never to give what might look like a snap judgment, but to appear to be giving grave thought to every demand" (2). A German observer corroborates this: "Immediate judgments . . . are very rare (in German culture). They cause . . . perplexity. How, it is asked, does so-and-so arrive at such and such an opinion?" (6).

There was a tendency to attempt to encompass reality within one's action—preparatory thoughts, specifically a striving for maximum completeness, specificity and precision in information and in forecasts about the conditions, course and sequels of contemplated acts. (This implied beliefs in the predictability of the course of the universe; and among other things, preferences for norm-conforming behavior making for predictability.) This was in part a device of protection against danger. Anxiety diminishes if one believes that "es ist alles einkalkuliert werden." Correspondingly, in the psychoanalytic interview, "the compulsion neurotic patient cannot speak . . . without knowing in advance where it (his discourse) will lead" (8). The idea of "incalculable consequences" ("unabsehbare Folgen") was highly anxiety-laden in German culture.

More generally, reactions to any surprise tended to be negative,—emotionally as well as in terms of skillfulness of overt action. (This was often accompanied, as usual, by reaction-formative desires and a self-glorifications in favor of surprise.) The concentration of recent German strategic doctrines upon the element of surprise illustrates, in part, this point; and so do attitudes of German soldiers towards surprising situations. It has been noted that German soldiers with significant frequency and emphasis found surprise more unnerving than long artillery barrages to which one "gets accustomed." They likewise showed a significantly high differential between their anxiety of a foe whose ways they found familiar, such as the British, and of one with unfamiliar tactics such as the Soviets.

In keeping with the compulsive tendency to proceed in everything "according to plan," German culture showed much preference for planned "planmässig") action. Life was often taken as a sequence of "tasks" for which one has to train oneself; cf. the wide application of terms like "Aufgabe" and "Schule" ("Schule des Lebens," "die Wehrmacht als Schule"), "Schulung," etc. The same trend was indicated by the metaphysical tendency to postulate a species of "will" behind phenomena of every kind ("Kulturwille," "Kuntswille," "Formwille," etc.) Even rather subtle, "irrational," subjective events were often supposedly produced in a "rational," "planned" way. Thus, a recent program for a "Wandervogel" club of girls stated that "sojourn in open nature will mainly serve for the deepening of emo-

tional subjectivity" ("... wird man den Aufenthalt in der freien Natur mehr der Vertiefung des Gemüts- und Gefühlslebens weihen"). The technical term for the employment of 10- to 18-year-old youngsters in a Nazi educational plan (Reichsnachwuchsplan) was "jugendfroher Uebungsbetrieb." Such elaborateness and deliberateness were also characteristic of certain aspects of one's attitude towards one's "faith" (cf. Chapter 15).

Conscious "planning" and "decision" often occurred in the context of "organizations." The proliferation of leagues ("Vereine") in pre-Nazi Germany is well known: Nazism curbed private associations of all kinds but created an amazing number of state-controlled, compulsory associations for every kind of human activity.

The terminal "audit" phase of the sequence thought-plan-decision-action (see above) also was conspicuous in German culture. "Everything is accounted for in the German ledger" (6). One may recall in this connection the predilection for attitudes such as "rendering accounts" ("Rechenschaft ablegen"), and the prominent use of terms like "feststellen." Recording activities were, as is well known, very intense.

As a reaction-formation against these tendencies towards elaborateness in action, there was a widespread striving for spontaneity and velocity of reaction, particularly expressed by the Nazis. Sometimes this was accompanied by the glorification of risks assumed, and by beliefs in the utter unpredictability of the universe. One may recall the high axiological status of "immediacy" of action ("ohne Umstände," "auf Anhieb"). There were widespread apprehensions of "overmuch reflection leading to a weakening of will power" (H. Fritzsche on the German radio, Sept. 2, 1944). The terms "Einsatz" (meaning partly "quick response to command") and "Sitzbereitschaft" ("preparedness for instantaneous action") (27) referred to highly valued attitudes. "Lightning-like action" was often praised as peculiar achievement of Nazi leadership ("our military leaders, with characteristic elasticity, react like lightning to this new threat," *DNB*, April 6, 1944). Nazi propagandists also often praised the "art of improvisation" as a distinctive Nazi skill. For instance, Goebbels (in his funeral speech on Adolph Wagner, Bavarian Gauleiter, in April, 1944) praised the Nazi elite as "artists of political improvisation" ("Künstler der politischen Improvisation"). In the summer of 1944, an official slogan for civilians in East Prussia read: "Do not organize, but improvize."

A synthesis of the antagonistic tendencies towards slow and rapid action was developed in the Nazi technique designated by the special term "schlagartig." In a "schlagartig" action an enemy is first painstakingly ("to the last

detail") isolated and surrounded by superior forces; when all preparations are made, sudden annihilating blows fall at all points simultaneously, so that the enemy is finished before he could even think of defending himself.

E. ISOLATION AND INTEGRATION

The mechanism of "isolation" is prominent in compulsive characters. There seems to be a number of indicators for the prominence of isolation phenomena, and of reaction-formations against them, in German culture.

As to scientific and philosophical discourse, there was a certain polarization of "methods" outside of the natural sciences: while the genetic approach was well developed, the attitude of certain influential schools was characterized by an extremely sharp rejection of it. The tendency to look at phenomena "in themselves" cut off from any genetic tie, recalls a typical use of the mechanism of isolation in compulsive characters; the degree of conscious recollection of certain infantile events may be high, but there is a lack of awareness of their influence on present acts of the subject.

Another methodological polarization concerned concentration upon disjointed particulars on the one hand, and striving for an all-over integration, a "synopsis" of all facts ("Zusammenschau," "Totalschau," "Gesamtschau," "Gestalt") on the other. The former tendencies may be related to the mechanism of isolation, while the latter may be partly reaction-formations against them. The well-known tendency toward the creation of systems (Systembildung) has additional origins, e.g., as a defense against compulsive doubt. Compulsive subjects have a "high capacity for systematizing" (18). Influential German philosophies whose bent is analytical rather than synoptical at the same time regarded "intuitive" knowledge as more perfect than merely "discursive" knowledge (Kant). On the other hand, an influential and strongly systematic philosophy like that of Hegel put stress on the category of the "in se" ("an sich," "an und für sich").

In the field of ordinary discourse (and to a certain extent in scientific practice as against "methodology"), philosophical warnings against preferring the "discursive" to the "intuitive" approach were unheeded in many cases. Thus, a rigid separation of references to objects with antithetical value characteristics was often strongly demanded (e.g., as a means to avoid "blasphemy"). German soldiers in the Second World War reacted in some cases with great dismay to the fact that Allied leaflets contained on the same page fact statement on the military situation (which were deemed acceptable), and appeals to surrender (which were resented). German soldiers, in fact, exhibited a high capacity for confining subversive thoughts within narrow

areas. They prevented their overflowing into more "central" areas, regardless of the close relations between the areas concerned.

Political ideologies, on the other hand, tended to be highly integrated. Programs were often presented in the form of coherent systems. (The word "System" on the other hand denoted one major devil object of Nazi propaganda: the Weimar regime.) Activities treated as minor and non-political in many other cultures (e.g., stamp collecting) were repeatedly integrated with major political aims ("politisiert").

Still in the field of discourse, one may mention the anti-isolation technique of verbal agglomeration, so characteristic of German style with its tolerance of neologisms of this kind. A subject of E. Jones (18) "cherished the ambition . . . of being able to construct his clauses, on a very German model, so as to expel all he may have to say in one . . . sentence. . . ."

On the other hand again German culture showed the tendency of viewing behaviors as belonging to different "compartments." The subject frequently carefully mapped his actions along different lines, according to whether they were held to belong to one or the other compartment,—with the belief that there are no bridges connecting a compartment with another. Much emphasis was often put on the fact that behavior patterns in the different compartments were and ought to be sharply divergent (cf. Hitler: "As a man I am soft-hearted; as a leader of this Party I am as hard as granite"). There was also a strong tendency to move within the limits of one's sharply defined "Kompetenz" (with certain exceptional subjects, such as Hitler and the Nazi party, being "kompetent" for everything). For instance, German soldiers, when confronted with reports of Nazi atrocities, often merely replied that the cases in question concerned the SS and Gestapo people,—thus not only disclaiming responsibility but even refraining from formulating a value judgment on something not within their "Kompetenz."

Aversion against mixing objects belonging to different compartments was exemplified by the particular explicitness and emphasis of the postulate of a so-called attitude of the army (an attitude which in Germany often was not confined to a merely politically neutral orientation but had a certain ideological content of its own). The Nazi "politization" of the Army was, as is well known, accepted with great reluctance in many quarters. On the other hand, many Germans accepted with spontaneous approval the Nazi demand for a complete abstinence of the Churches from any action with a "political" connotation. Conversely, many German Christians of the Nie-moeller type objected to Nazi interference into what was held to be the sphere of religion rather than to the regime, or other aspects of it, as such (an attitude which, of course, has deep roots in Lutheran traditions).

F. RIGIDITY AND SUDDEN CHANGE

One of the triad of traits which Freud in his study of 1908 imputed to anal (hence: compulsive) characters was that of high obstinacy. One of the major components of this is the tendency towards perseveration in the course once set. Compulsive characters usually show a "tendency to repeat an action" (8); they exhibit "no sudden unexpected turns in their reactions" (29). "They feel a change in the order posited to be at least disagreeable; in neurotic cases such a change induces anxiety" (1). There is a tendency towards "conservative behavior opposed to all innovations" (29) in the compulsive character, an "intense persistence in an undertaking once engaged in from which they allow nothing to divert them . . . even though considerations arising later may put the desirability . . . of the undertaking in a totally different perspective" (18).

The demand for an invariant environment (*Stetigkeit, Beständigkeit, Stabilität*) was high in German culture. Amidst phenomena of "inevitable" change, an element of stability ("ruhender Pol in der Erscheinungen Flucht") was highly valued. This was probably related to a variety of factors, such as the high sense of danger. In any case, many Germans seemed to put high emphasis on invariance-amidst-change in ways which implied a fear lest change become total and even "foundations" believed to be "firm" give way ("der Boden wankt unter unseren Füßen"). (The inflation in 1923 seems to have provoked this kind of anxiety.) Correspondingly, one may recall the extremely high valuation of (highly stabilized) civil service positions in German culture.

One of the accusations most frequently levelled by Germans against democratic political systems was that governments and policies in the democracies were fluctuating. The Nazis always claimed credit for the "constancy" of their policy as a value in itself almost regardless of its correctness. How much it was taken for granted in circles close to the Nazi elite that any policy change, even in the sphere of propaganda, tended to be anxiety-provoking, may be illustrated by an article in the *Wehrmacht* bulletin for enlisted men of July, 1944: it suggested that an alleged change of the British propaganda line concerning the German V 1 weapon "has precipitated the danger of a crisis of nerves" ("dadurch . . . dass die feindliche Propaganda mitten im Kampf ihren Kurs ändern muss, ist in England die Gefahr einer Nervenkrise heraufbeschworen worden.")

As to the individual's own actions, there was a high tendency towards repetitiveness, accompanied by fear and dislike of monotony ("das ewige

Einerlei"). The importance of "rituals" in daily life and on extraordinary occasions was one of the factors making for repetitiveness. (The undoing significance of repetitiveness is manifest in such cases as the 1940 re-enactment of 1918 events in the Compiegne Forest.)

Perseverance (*Beharrlichkeit*) was considered to be a highly desirable trait and there was a widespread tendency to retain the same action pattern regardless of changes of context. One of the key notions in wartime was "Durchhalten." The Nazis claimed to possess a maximum of this virtue as one of the components of their "fanaticism." Anti-Nazis and neutrals often used less complimentary terms (such as "Sturheit," "Verbohrtheit") to characterize this attitude.

On the other hand, a total change in the environment (especially with regard to the distribution of power) may in such a character type result in a sudden abandonment of perseveration tendencies, i.e., in a complete change in behavior patterns. In neither of the two world wars was the decline of German fighting "morale" very gradual. Readiness to fight and obey remained fairly constant until a late moment, and then collapsed rather suddenly, in a characteristic "all or nothing" fashion related to the prevalence of internal defenses by repression and reaction-formation.

Furthermore, intense and self-conscious tendencies to take over "modern" "innovations" in all kinds of symbols and practices were widespread, often coexisting with a self-conscious archaism in some reserved spheres of particular "weltanschauliche" importance.

G. POSSESSIVENESS

Great attachment to material possessions is a well-known trait of a certain type of compulsive character. This type shows a tendency to spend money on "lasting" things, rather than "passing" pleasures. A "possessive" orientation is also apt to be found in inter-personal relationships; "in the middle (i.e., anal) stage of his libidinal development, the individual regards the person who is the object of his desire as something over which he exercised ownership" (1). More generally, "in marked cases of anal character formation almost all relationships in life are brought into the category of having (holding fast) and giving, i.e., proprietorship" (1).

Intense attachment to material possessions is widespread in German culture. Many Germans, as is well known, spend relatively much on their apartment, often crowded with heavy furniture. Self-esteem is highly determined by visible, permanent possessions. Collecting and preserving them may be a principal objective in life.

The loss of material possessions, accordingly, is frequently reacted to with extreme dysphoria. During the Second World War, destruction of one's apartment was one of the most dreaded experiences in Germany, because it normally meant much more than loss of comfort and wealth; it involved, above all, loss of an "anchor" as well as of an "objective in life," and also loss of status. One of the most demoralizing influences on German soldiers was the fear, or the accomplished fact, of the destruction of the family apartment through bombing, even if the family was unhurt. A bombed-out wife wrote to her soldier-husband in 1944: "Meine ganze Bettwäsche, nichts mehr haben wir. . . . Im ersten Moment meint man, du kannst nicht mehr bestehen, du hast ja nichts mehr, wir sind heimatlos geworden." A woman (who had not suffered from raids) wrote to her husband during the same year: "May God protect our beautiful home, for a life without home would be impossible for me. But if Fate wills it differently, I wish to die with my dear child."

The valuation of property as against life is apt to be high. A soldier wrote to his sister in 1944: "Today we got the news from Berlin that M's husband is missing. Ja, zweimal die Wohnung und nun auch den Mann verloren!" In Hamburg, one could read in the newspapers during the months following the air raids of the summer of 1943 death notices showing the following structure: "After having lost everything we possessed (i.e., the home) in the terror raid of . . . we announce in addition the death of . . . (from natural causes)."

As language indicators of this trait, expressions of seizing and holding (griefen, fassen) may be significant. It is also noteworthy that in referring to beloved persons, metaphors denoting material possessions are frequently used (kostbarstes Gut, Schatz; cf. also the neuter gender: Mein Liebstes).

Valued mental objects also may be referred to as (material) possessions: e.g., "Gedankengut," "Erinnerungsgut." Beyond this, there is a tendency to apply "inanimate" expressions to "animate" objects: "Verschleiss" for casualties, "Ausschuss" for low quality troops, "Menschenmaterial," "Lese-stoff." Reaction-formatively, there is revulsion against "Materialismus."

H. DOUBT AND DOGMATISM

Compulsive characters are ambivalent towards doubt and certainty, decisiveness and indecision. (The terms "doubt" and "certainty" are used in this study as referring to attitudes towards symbols; "indecision" and "decisiveness" as characterizing non-symbolic behavior. The term "doubt" may signify, either a kind of attitude towards a symbolic communication

which is half way (or oscillates) between acceptance and rejection, or the acceptance of a statement ascribing a low degree of probability to a certain event.) On the one hand, compulsive characters show a strong tendency towards doubt and indecision, the extreme manifestation of which is found in the "terminal states" of compulsion neurotics, in the guise of a "paralysis of the will" which prevents the patient from doing or thinking anything, unless its opposite also is thought or done (8). "A psychic need common to compulsion neurotics . . . (is) the need for uncertainty in life, or doubt." On the other hand, states of doubt are reacted to with extreme dysphoria, and all kinds of defenses are erected against them. For instance, the subject adopts a dogmatic system or refers every decision to an authority. The subject may thus come to desire a situation in which his acts (including his beliefs) are prescribed to a high degree. He thereby avoids the dysphoria of doubt-indecision ("Wer die Wahl hat, die Qual") which may come to be feared as an accompaniment of almost any choice; his energies are more fully released for externalized acts. A similar effect is achieved if the subject believes in the necessity of a certain act rather than in the obligation to perform it. The act may appear as the "only possible" one because of the "nature of things" or because of a previous act of the self ("es gibt kein Zurück mehr").

In German culture, tendencies towards doubt and indecision as well as defenses against such tendencies seemed to play a considerable rôle.

Thus an exact survey of the over-all content of German communications would probably reveal a high frequency of terms relating to doubt and indecision and to operations by which they are overcome. The following group of expressions may be of interest:

(a) Terms denoting states of doubt, such as "Problem" or "Frage." One frequently encounters a certain pointed use of such terms, e.g.: "Das ist eine Lebensfrage," "in Frage gestellt." One may note that despair is "Verzweiflung." There is considerable awareness of doubt-indecision tendencies in many German images of Germany. "Germany . . . seems to lack clear will. . . . The climate (sic)" encourages a certain interplay between resolution and irresolution. It drives people to the fireside and the open air with equal force (sic) (6).

(b) Expressions rejecting (usually with great emphasis) doubt or indecision or presenting them as overcome, such as "ohne Zweifel," "zweifellos," "zweifelsfrei," "über jeden Zweifel erhaben," "in einer Weise die jeden Zweifel ausschliesst," "wir werden uns durch nichts unseren Glauben rauben lassen dass . . ." "unbestreitbar," "unwiderleglich," "unbedingt," "vorbehalt-

los." One may recall the wide use, as clichés, of Goethe's "Im Anfang war die Tat" as against Shakespeare's "von des Gedankens Blässe angekränkt."

(c) Expressions emphasizing full acceptance or rejection of a statement, as well as the firmness of a decision: "positiv," "überzeugend," "handgreiflich," "aus tiefer innerer Ueberzeugung," "endgültig." Constructions with the adjective "fest," also belong in this and the preceding group: "felsenfeste Ueberzeugung," "feststellen," and many others. Metaphors of high firmness (e.g., "festigen," "unterbauen," "verankern") are frequently used to refer to any kind of indulgence; and metaphors of low firmness (e.g., "den Boden entziehen," "untergraben," "schlüpfrig") to any kind of deprivation. There are also frequent expressions emphasizing the soundness or unsoundness of a belief or of a decision, such as constructions with the noun "Grund": "begründet," "unbegründet," "ohne irgendwelchen Grund," "grundlegend."

A great number of phenomena in German culture could be cited to illustrate tendencies towards doubt on the one hand, and the "will to believe" on the other.

One of them is the frequent polarization between "dogmatism" and "criticism" in philosophical discourse. The procedure of generalized doubt was regularly applied, but usually not in the Cartesian fashion. By the method of generalized doubt, Descartes intended to separate out those judgments which are entirely "rational" and consequently "evident" to every "reasonable" being. In many German philosophic systems, however, what remains after the application of generalized doubt is most frequently some inspirational or voluntaristic element; something attainable to the exceptional individual by a supreme effort, rather than a *locus communis* in which all reasonable individuals can share. This is true of the Kantian "idea" as well as of Nietzsche's conception of the "super-man." Either ecstatic inspiration or a supreme effort of the will is needed to overcome doubt.

In both cases, that of "dogmatism" as well as that of "criticism," there is apt to be intense stress—presumably defensive against doubts—on the "a priori" validity, or invalidity, of the statements involved, i.e., on the lack of need of any extraneous evidence. Thus "rational" or "empirical" objections may have but a small impact on believers. Doubt tendencies, in their turn, may break through in the shape of "pragmatism," as in certain important aspects of Nazi ideology. February 3, 1944, Das Schwarze Korps said characteristically: "Der Krieg ist die Probe aufs Exempel ob unser Glaube richtig ist." There is a polarization between "Gesinnungsethik" and "Erfolgsethik" tendencies.

A related method of defense against doubt is that of transforming "semantic" into "syntactic" questions: in connection with widely diffused "idealistic" (epistemologically) thought habits all kinds of events may appear as "denknotwendig" or "denk unmöglich."

Intellectual processes tended to a high extent to be concerned with statements which could relatively acceptably be presented in an apodeictic fashion. On the one hand German culture has shown high concentration on "*very small*" problems where meticulous scholarship could produce what appeared as full empirical evidence. On the other hand, there was an accent on the "*very large*" problems of "philosophy," and on the close connection between it and the empirical sciences. This, of course, apart from leading to "a priori" certainties, also satisfied the need for doubt because of the frequent "impenetrable mystery" aura of "philosophic" problems. "Grübel-sucht" or at least "Nachdenklichkeit" is a major German stereotype about Germans. Compulsive characters, on the other hand, show a "never lacking inclination" towards "grüblerisches Denken" (29). "The predilection of compulsion neurotics for . . . doubts becomes a motive for concentrating their thoughts on those subjects on which our judgment must by necessity be exposed to doubt."

In relation with these trends, there is polarization as to the precision, specificity, and completeness of symbols. This, again, is characteristic of compulsive characters. On the one hand they show an "inclination towards vagueness." But vagueness tends to be utilized by doubts for objections and for forbidden interpretations. Correspondingly, German culture shows both high vagueness and precision tendencies. As to the latter, there is the accent on "Wissenschaftlichkeit." There is also a vein of circumstantially cumbrous explicitness in German communications ("da möchte ich denn doch nochmals ganz unzweideutig feststellen. . .") There is a significant revulsion vis-a-vis "talmüdistische Spitzfindigkeiten"; this may indicate a fear of the use of precision tendencies for doubt purposes, corresponding to compulsive "hair-splitting" propensities. On the other hand there is the "metaphysical" vein in German discourse. E. Diesel (6) comments on the protracted German discussion of the "significance" of the "Stämme" as against the "Reich": "As so often with Germans, one is left in doubt as to *what* it is that is significant or insignificant."

The relationship between pro-authoritarian and anti-doubt tendencies in German culture is well known. One frequent comparison between freedom and the Nazi regime was: "Der eine sagt so, der andere sagt so—da hat man

besser Vertrauen zum Führer; sonst weiss man ja gar nicht was man denken soll."

Even beyond the preference for the authoritarian variety of "regimentation" there is a widespread striving for finding oneself in a highly "defined" situation (preferably with rules "schwarz auf weiss") and very negative reactions to badly defined environments: "am Ende weiss man gar nicht wo man hingehört," "man kennt sich gar nicht mehr aus." Thus there is a tendency towards the adoption of easily ascertainable indicators of subjective nuances (cf. the rôle of "Du" and "Sie").

The rejection of doubt-indecision as such and the cultivation and dogmatic certainty and decisiveness, were of course, driven to extremes in the Third Reich. As Hitler said (in a confidential address to senior German officers on October 16, 1943): "The greatest poison is doubt" ("Das grösste Gift ist der Zweifel"). General Kabisch formulated the following maxim in an article published April 6, 1944: "Sei nicht ungläubig, sondern gläubig." Strenuous exertions in combating one's doubts and indecisions were a major value, already in pre-Hitler Germany.

The constant fight against doubts which was characteristic of Nazi propaganda indicated, of course, a strong tendency towards doubt. The kind of "faith" which Nazi leaders demanded ran counter to established habits of thought; it required a violently hostile attitude towards a great variety of previously accepted objects. Nazism involved a dramatization of existence which was characteristically polarized as to doubt and certainty. On the one hand, it asserted certain dogmas in rigid fashion. But it demanded, on the other hand, that the individual should always be ready to face extremely precarious situations, involving utter uncertainty of existence. Thus, Nazism illustrated in extreme fashion the ambivalence towards certainty and uncertainty.

(To be concluded)

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